

## Message Text

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ORIGIN H-02

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SS-07 DODE-00 PM-07 EUR-06 /023 R

66610

DRAFTED BY: H: TWFINA

6/19/73 29036

APPROVED BY: D: KRUSH

EUR: STABLER

DOD: GEN. FURLONG

S/ S: MILLER

PM: SPIERS

H: WRIGHT

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R 192355 Z JUN 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 118139

FOR GILNER

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION ALL NATO CAPITALS INFO EC BRUSSELS,  
VIENNA, HELSINKI, USCINCEUR, USDELMC, AND USNMR SHAPE  
FROM STATE JUN 18, REPEATED TO YOU

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 118139

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAP, NL, US, NATO

SUBJECT: US TROOPS IN EUROPE; CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION

REF: THE HAGUE 2381

VIENNA FOR DEAN; HELSINKI FOR VEST.

1. REFTEL RAISES PERTINENT QUESTION RE CURRENT  
CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE WITH RESPECT TO THE MAINTENANCE  
OF US TROOP LEVELS IN WESTERN EUROPE. DEPARTMENT  
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WISHES TO INFORM MISSIONS OF OUR ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION.

2. SENATOR MANSFIELD REMAINS COMMITTED TO A MAJOR REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF OUR TROOPS IN WESTERN EUROPE. DURING MID- APRIL TALK WITH BARZEL, MANSFIELD SAID THAT HE WAS DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE A 50 REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF US TROOPS IN EUROPE AS WELL AS THE REMOVAL OF ALL DEPENDENTS. MOREOVER, ON MARCH 15 THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS VOTED BY 47 TO 4 FOR A " SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION" IN THE NUMBER OF US TROOPS ABROAD. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY CAUCUS DECISION IN MAY INTERPRETING " SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION" TO MEAN BY ONE- HALF TO TWO- THIRDS. THE LAST MANSFIELD EFFORT TO SECURE SENATE SUPPORT FOR A TROOP CUT CAME IN 1971 AND WAS DEFEATED BY A 15- VOTE MARGIN.

IN THE INTERIM, SEVERAL IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTERS IN THE SENATE HAVE NOT BEEN RETURNED TO THE NEW CONGRESS.

3. AT THIS TIME MANSFIELD' S PRECISE TIMETABLE AND TACTICS ARE NOT KNOWN. OUR BEST GUESS IS THAT ADVOCATES OF A EUROPEAN TROOP REDUCTION IN THE SENATE WILL TRY TO AMEND THE DEFENSE MANPOWER AND PROCUREMENT AUTHORIZATION OR APPROPRIATIONS BILL WHICH IS NOW IN COMMITTEE. CURRENT EXPECTATION IS THAT IT WILL NOT BE REPORTED TO THE FULL SENATE UNTIL LATE JULY OR UNTIL JUST AFTER THE AUGUST RECESS ( AUGUST 3 TO SEPTEMBER 5). THAT WOULD MEAN ACTION IN THE SENATE DURING EARLY TO MID- SEPTEMBER.

4. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, WE BELIEVE THAT A VOTE TAKEN ON A PROPOSAL TO MAKE A LARGE REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF TROOPS NOW STATIONED IN WESTERN EUROPE WOULD AT THIS TIME, PROBABLY NARROWLY CARRY IN THE SENATE.

5. THE SITUATION IN THE HOUSE IS MORE FAVORABLE. SUPPORT IN THE HOUSE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF TROOPS IN WESTERN EUROPE HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAR STRONGER THAN IN THE SENATE. BUT THE CLIMATE THERE ON THIS MATTER HAS NOT BEEN

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TESTED THIS SESSION AND THE SHIFT IN THE HOUSE POSITION ON OTHER FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUES HAS ALREADY BEEN DECIDEDLY IN THE DIRECTION OF THE SENATE TREND. MOREOVER, CONGRESSMAN BENJAMIN ROSENTHAL ( D- NEW YORK), CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SUB- COMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, HAS SUBMITTED A PROPOSED RESOLUTION TO THE HOUSE ON MAY 29 CALLING FOR SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS

IN TROOP LEVELS ( HE INTERPRETS " SUBSTANTIAL" TO BE ABOUT 100,000 MEN) WITHIN A 12- MONTH PERIOD. ROSENTHAL HAS NOW SCHEDULED A SERIES OF HEARINGS ON HIS RESOLUTIONS AS WELL AS ON OTHER PROPOSALS THAT HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED CALLING FOR TROOP REDUCTIONS. AT OUR REQUEST, ADMINISTRATION WITNESSES WILL APPEAR BEFORE THE FULL COMMITTEE ON JULY 10, 11 AND 12 TO MAKE A MAJOR STATEMENT OF THE CASE FOR RETAINING TROOPS IN EUROPE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE ADVOCATES OF A REDUCTION IN TROOP LEVELS IN WESTERN EUROPE HAVE APPEARED IN SUCH FORCE IN THE HOUSE AND THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT THE SUPPORT FOR THEIR POSITION MAY BE GREATER THAN HAS YET BEEN REVEALED.

6. WHILE IT APPEARS IMPROBABLE AT THIS TIME THAT THE HOUSE WOULD ADOPT A RESOLUTION RECOMMENDING A TROOP CUT OF 100,000 MEN, THERE IS SOME DANGER THAT AN AMENDMENT TO THE DEFENSE MANPOWER AND PROCUREMENT AUTHORIZATION OR PROCUREMENT BILL IN THE SENATE MIGHT BE THE SUBJECT OF COMPROMISE IN CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES WITH THE RESULT OF AN AGREED REDUCTION OF SOME SIGNIFICANT NUMBER.

7. THE MAJOR ARGUMENTS BEING ADVANCED BY THE ADVOCATES OF REDUCTIONS IN TROOP LEVELS AT THIS TIME ARE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CONSIDERATIONS, THE INADEQUACY OF ALLIED EFFORTS, THE FUTILITY OF A CONVENTIONAL FORCE DEFENSE, THE SIZE OF THE DOD BUDGET, THE ABSENCE OF A MILITARY THREAT, THE ADEQUACY OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE AND THE CLAIMED DESIRE OF THE WESTERN EUROPEANS THEMSELVES THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REDUCE ITS TROOP PRESENCE.

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8. DURING THE 1971 DEBATE ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE ARGUMENTS WITH MEMBERS OF THE SENATE WAS THE IMMINENCE OF MBFR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THAT WILL CONTINUE TO BE AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION. SO WILL THE EVOLUTION OF OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT ON MILITARY ACCOUNT. DESPITE THE IMPROVEMENT IN OUR APRIL TRADE PERFORMANCE, THE CONGRESS CONTINUES TO VIEW THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATION WITH CONSIDERABLE ALARM. THE EXISTENCE OF A DEFICIT ON MILITARY ACCOUNT OF \$1.5 BILLION PER ANNUM IS A POWERFUL ARGUMENT WITH BROAD APPEAL IN BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE.

9. THE DEPARTMENT INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE CONGRESS TO PRESENT THE RATIONALE UNDERLYING

THE MAINTENANCE OF CURRENT TROOP DEPLOYMENTS IN WESTERN  
EUROPE. ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW UPON THE FOREGOING IN  
CONVERSATIONS WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS AND OFFICIALS  
AS THEY FIND APPROPRIATE.

10. POSTS, IN DISCUSSING THIS TELEGRAM WITH HOST  
GOVERNMENTS, SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND SECDEF DESIGNATE  
SCHLESINGER'S SPEECH TO THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE  
ON JUNE 7, REPORTED IN NATO 2831 AS WELL AS REACTIONS  
BY OTHER MODS AT THAT MEETING, NATO 2863. ROGERS

UNQUOTE ROGERS

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NNNNMAFVVZCZ

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** collinp0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973STATE118139  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** H: TWFINA  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
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**Original Classification:** SECRET  
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**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 73 THE HAGUE 2381  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** collinp0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 OCT 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <03-Oct-2001 by thigpegh>; APPROVED <25 FEB 2002 by collinp0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980217  
**Subject:** US TROOPS IN EUROPE; CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION  
**TAGS:** MCAP, NL, US, NATO  
**To:** GENEVA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005